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The basilar process of No. 2 cranium is perfect, with the orifice for the spinal column in good preservation ; in No. 1 the process is entirely gone. The facial bones of both skulls are wanting, as will be observed from the photographs.

“ ANCIENT IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL BELLS.—No. 1, cylindrical-shaped ; height five inches ; found on the top of a mountain, in the parish of Lower Budooney, county of Tyrone, in the year 1856. It was dug up by a peasant cutting turf, from about two feet below the surface. The party who found it stated that it had then a tongue or clapper, but this has been lost. The bell is now in the possession of Doctor Trinar, of Omagh.

“ No. 2. This curious bell has been pronounced by the late John Corry, Esq., of Newry, a well-known antiquarian, a rare specimen. In a letter to Mr. Kelly, dated November 15, 1849, on the subject, he writes :—‘ The bell is genuine, and a rare specimen ; it belongs to a very early period, as no fewer than thirty-one of the same kind were found in a bog at Parsons-town, along with bronze spears, celts, gongs, &c., in a cauldron, some time ago. You are, perhaps, aware that it is the opinion of the best antiquarians that at the very earliest period they were used as cattle bells, and not for Druidical worship, as some visionaries imagine. You must, however, take care not to class your bell with the circular sheep bells, which were brought from England, and used to the close of the 17th century. I have some of this period with initials in modern English capitals.’ The bell is now in the collection of William Kelly, Esq., of Londonderry.

“ ANCIENT IRISH HARP.—Found at the bottom of a bog at Taughboyne, county of Donegal. The wood was lying beside, crumbled to dust. There is a tradition in the neighbourhood that a battle was fought in former times in the locality where the harp was found. The workmanship is of a superior description. As the bards joined in the onset of battle, it is not improbable that this is the iron framework of the *clairseach*. This interesting relic is now in my possession. The parish of Taughboyne (Teač baeitín) is referred to by Dr. O'Donovan, ‘Book of Rights,’ p. 131, n.”

The following Papers were then submitted to the Meeting :—

NOTES ON A FAC SIMILE OF AN ANCIENT MAP OF LEIX, OFALY, IRRY, CLANMALIER, IREGAN, AND SLIEVE- MARGY, PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

THE accompanying fac simile of an old map of the above named countries is accurately taken from the original in the Cottonian collection, in the British Museum, and has been collated with a copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, which latter map seems to be of later date, and has some local denominations more clearly and correctly written than on the former. From internal and other evidence, it appears that the Cottonian chart was

made about the year 1563.¹ This fac simile therefore portrays the principal features of these regions as they appeared about the middle of the sixteenth century, or three hundred years ago. Of the few ancient maps elucidatory of the topography of different parts of Ireland, which exist in various depositories, not one, so far as our knowledge extends, equals this in interest to Irish archæologists. To them, it tells its own tale. Yet the picture it gives of a country almost in a state of nature, inhabited by primitive, pastoral clans, and intruded on, for the second time, after a lapse of nearly four hundred years, and at the very date of the map, by English colonists, will be rendered clearer by the ensuing notes on the history of these districts. The broad features of this chart are, certainly, the natural ones, such as the huge and wide mountains of Slievebloom and Slievecomar; primeval forests, as "the great wood;" and vast heaths and morasses, as "Frughmore," or the great heath of Maryborough, and part of the bog of Allen. There was not a single market town in the whole region. The only two places in which men had congregated, and there in but small numbers, were the forts of "Dengin" and "Protectour," the recently formed germs of the present capital towns of Philipstown and Maryborough. These were then quite new settlements. Of still more modern date are the borough of Portarlington, and market towns of Mountrath, Mountmelick, and Tullamore. There were two old feudal fortresses, Lea and Geashill, which had been erected by the Fitzgeralds in the twelfth century, but which, with Dunamase, were in ruins. There were some smaller castellated houses, repaired or constructed by Celtic chieftains in later ages; there were also humbler dwellings, in which the bards, brehons, and physicians of the country dwelt; and there were miserable villages, clusters of cabins, inhabited by serfs, the wretched earth-tillers. Last, and by no means least, were the ecclesiastical edifices; some considerable monasteries, as Abbey-Leix, Killeigh, and Monasterevan; with a sprinkling of the small, rude, rural churches of a poor country that was little gifted with roads. So far otherwise as the

¹ The consignment of Leix to colonists was made in 1556. (Printed Calendar of State Papers.) In that year, a castle was erected on the site of O'Connor's "Dengin," and the royal arms of England, with the date, 1556, were sculptured on it. Captain Portas (whence the "C. (castle) Porter" on the map?) was one of the consignees of that year. Captain George Delves, from whom, probably "C. (castle) Delves" was named, had not arrived in this kingdom in 1561. (Calendar S. P.) Of other places named on the map, "Edenderry, *alias* Cowleys-town," was granted in 1563, to Henry

Cowley (Calendar). The frequent recurrence of the surname Cowley on the map may imply that it was made by Walter Cowley, Surveyor-general. The names of Maryborough and Philipstown seem not to have been used till 1567, when these places were made market towns. "Dingan" is still so called in State Papers of 1557, '64, and '69. So little was the region here mapped out known to John Goghe, the maker of the map of Ireland of 1567, published in the State Papers, that none of it appears on his chart. It was then absolutely *terra incognita*!

Irish had made their marks on the soil, we see them in possession, as clans, of tracts of land which probably had been possessed by the same races for more than ten centuries. The sept, or seven-partite system,¹ had endowed the clans of Donil, Dermot, Kedagh, O'Kelly, Lalor, and others, with separate parcels of land; while two fertile districts bore the names of *managh*, or monks, and of *priorie*, or friars. Interspersed were the fortified houses of the new colonists, "Castle-Cosby," "Castle-Pigot," and other similar evidences of a strong, armed settlement. These signs of the changing times, when clan-ship was yielding to feudality, are not visible in the three districts of Eri, Iregan, and Clanmalier, because these territories had not yet been doomed to feel the conqueror's yoke. Indeed, the map-maker does not seem to have penetrated the almost virgin forests—the "backwoods" of the Pale. The sylvan condition of the whole country is remarkable. Several notices of the "the great wood of Ofaly" could be cited, such as by the traveller Moryson, who mentions it as singularly extensive. The entire region of Iregan is traditionally said to have been a continuous forest of oak, wild pine, and yew. A glance at our chart shows that, in this instance, popular report was, as regards three centuries ago, not erroneous. In Mason's Statistical Survey of this district, it is stated that "an English commander received the thanks of Queen Elizabeth for conducting a party of her cavalry in safety through the woods of Iregan, from Birr to Athy."

The original of the fac simile now presented to our readers is coloured; and, had the cost of producing coloured fac similes not been quite deterrent, such close copies would have possessed the value of the original chart, which is significantly tinted, the mountains being represented by a brown hue, and the rivers by a blue tinge; the woods are light green; the arable, or corn-bearing lands, as it would seem, are a greenish yellow; the bogs, a light purple; the pastures are uncoloured, and the passes, or rude roads, are marked by short straight lines, coloured grey. A perfect fac simile, tinted like the original, may be seen in the Society's Museum.

Of all the features, the artificial one, of the passages through woods and bogs, is certainly the most curious to the antiquary, since it exhibits peculiar points in the strategy of the Irish clans, contained in their practice of inhabiting thickets, and fortifying these natural fortresses in their special manner of plashing, as it

¹ Dr. Johnson, though deriving the word sept from the Latin *septum*, considers the word as Irish; yet derives heptarchy from the Greek *epta*, seven. This term is not Gaelic, but seems to be either from the French *cep*, a scion, or plant, or more probably from the Latin *septem*, as signifying the seven-partite,

or heptarchal division, frequent in Celtic tribes, as in the cases of the British and Caledonian heptarchies. Besides the instances of seven septs in Leix and Offaly, it is worthy of remark that the *Fermanagh* were also divided into seven tuatha, or peoples.—("Annals of the Four Masters," anno. 648).

was technically termed, or pleating and intertwining the boughs and branches. The idea may be here corrected, as mistaken, that the Irish selected a wood full of large timber as a redoubt, since we have the authority of an ancient document to the contrary effect, viz., the following paragraph in a paper,¹ written in Cardinal Wolsey's time, on social reform in this kingdom:—

“ Good provision of wood-axes must be, to cutte their (the Irish clans') woods; not the great woods of oaks, which they repute no fastness, but the thyke woods of hassell and sallis, which they take for great assurance; and the same beyng cutte over in bred where it is narroest, and a waye made thoroughe so brode that xx men may go together in a frownt, they be exiled from that wood, and will no more take it for any fastenes. Ons their castells taken, and ways cutt throw their woods, they be matyd, and past all succours.”

Some of the difficulties that Saxon settlers had to contend against may be imagined by inspecting this map, which, however, does not pourtray the liveliest obstacles, as they existed in the shape of lithe and active Irishmen, who occasionally gave warm skirmishes. Chief Baron Finglas, in his “Breviate,” written in 1529, mentions among the dangerous passes in this kingdom, “two passes in Feemore, in O'Morye's country.” *Fiadh-mor* signifies the great wood. In 1548, a pass in Leix is described as three miles long, through a forest of great timber mingled with hazel (“Calendar of State Papers,” p. 90). Such a road was easily converted into a fortified defile, as when, fifty years subsequently, Owen O'More bravely defended the way, afterwards called the Pass of Plumes, against Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and his army.

Were it now attempted to trace the fortunes and fate of the regions depicted in the map before us, down to the period of its date, the result, however pleasant in performance to the writer, might be deemed prolix by the reader, and moreover, would, as embracing the early history of two counties, require more space than there is at command; so it suffices to give a sketch of the stories of the principal clans that inhabited these districts, in order to mark the events which led to the confiscation of their lands, and, consequently, to the making of this map. And we may, if the value of this facsimile to chorographers of the countries it depicts could be questioned, cite the “Annals of the Four Masters,” edited by the late Dr. O'Donovan, to show, by the frequency of the references that eminent topographer made to the original, how useful he considered it.

In examining the history of these countries, the fine district called “LEIX” has the first claim to notice, as being endowed by nature with

¹ Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. 159, p. 16.

a fruitful soil, forming, as English colonists in the sixteenth century considered it,¹ an "exceedingly pleasant" country; and as having been possessed up to that period, as an independent clan-territory and kingdom, by seven septs, of whom the noble and valiant O'Mores were seigneurs and kings. This territory was originally divided into seven parts, the boundaries of which met at a stone called Leac Riada, on the plain of Magh Riada, now Morett.² This heptarchy was under the government of seven petty kings, who were under the jurisdiction of an arch-king, called *Rígh Riada*, who usually resided at Dun Mask, now Dunamase.³

According to the bards, Ua-Laeighis, a tribe which gave its name to its country of Laeighis, Leis, or Leix, descended from Laeighseach, or Lewis Ceanmhor, son of Conal Cearnach,⁴ chief of the heroes of Craebh-Ruadh, in Ulster, in the first century. The bardic account of the original acquisition of this territory, is as follows:—Lughaidh Laeighseach, son of Laeighseach Ceanmhor, obtained the territory afterwards called Laeighis from the King of Laighin (Leinster), in the reign of the monarch Feidlimidh Reachtnhar, for the assistance which he afforded in expelling the men of Munster, who had invaded and seized on Leinster as far as Athtruis-tean, a ford near Mullaghmast ("Book of Rights," p. 215, and "Four Masters," p. 106). After the establishment of surnames, the chief family of Laeighis took the surname of O'Mordha, from Mordh, i. e. the great or big.

From the "Duan Eireannach," an ancient legendary poem on the

¹ John Dymock.

² Notes to "Four Masters," A. M. 3520, and A. D. 1196.

³ A very ancient poem in the "Book of Leinster" mentions "Bernas, ubi Laighes Reta Mor," on which the editor, (O'Curry, "Lectures," p. 481), notes that "bernas" means a gap in a hill, that "Laighis" is Leix, and "Reta Mor. i. e. great Reta, is Magh Reta, now Morett." There is some confusion about this place, which deserves to be cleared up, because *Riada*, wherever it was, was one title of the Kings of Leix. The plains of Magh-Reicheat and Magh-Riada are mentioned in the "Annals," A. M. 3520; on which the editor notes that the former is Morett, and the latter a plain in Leix, containing the forts of Lec-Reda and Rath-Bacain, where the chiefs of Leix resided, and the church called Domnachmor.

⁴ This ascribed descent, from a hero who flourished in the first century, was a matter of family faith with the O'Mores in the seventeenth, as appears by the following description of their

crest, which is introduced in the funeral entry of John Mackuey, of Carnagh, Queen's County, who is said to have descended from "the O'Moores of Leasy" (Add. MS. 4820, p. 41), viz:—"The crest is a man slaughtering of his enemies, and cutting off their heads, and his man behind, with a polle full of their heads. This man was Conall Cearnagh, my ancestor"—(signed) "Roger Moore."

This attester to the origin of that terrible crest was the celebrated Colonel Roger Moore, or O'More. The entry states that "William, eldest son of John Mackuey, of Carnagh, was of Ballyam M'Ewey, or M'Evoy, of Ballynelingskeagh, Co. Eastmeath, Esq." Wilskeagh, is mentioned in the Meath and other inquisitions. His surname is a form of *Mac Aodha buidhe*, or McHugh-boy; of which the clan name was *Clan-aodha-buidhe*, or Clandibuo. The arms of the O'Mores are, ar. between a cheveron sable, three pheasants proper.—(Carew MS. 625).

early colonization of Ireland, composed as it seems, in the ninth century,¹ we learn that the inhabitants of Leix were originally Picts. The bard declares that "Eri" (Ireland) "is full of the race of Ir;" and he proceeds to enumerate the clans whose descent is traced to this patriarch. However, we may venture to opine, regarding this name "Ir," that it is purely mythical, and that it was invented as the name of a pseudo-patriarch of the Irish, just as "Brito" was said to have been progenitor of the Britons, and as other *semblable* appellatives were assigned to the supposed originators of various nations. The author of the "Duan" mentions, among other descendants of "Ir," the seven septs which inhabited Leix, whom he styles "the seven Laigse of Leinster." This tribe, according to a note by the editor of the poem, comprised the seven septs of this name, which, agreeably with tradition, were, after the establishment of surnames, the O'Mores, O'Kellys, O'Lalors, O'Devoy's, or Deevys, Macavoy's, O'Dorans, and Dowlings, who are still numerous in the Queen's County. Their heptipartite condition is among the proofs of their Pictish origin, which is affirmed by a paragraph in the "Book of Lecan,"² enumerating "the seven Laighsi" among "the Cruithnians of Eri." Few of our readers require the explanation that Cruithnian is synonymous with Pict, and perhaps some may concur in our suggestion, that the people under consideration retained the appellation of Picts because they retained the practice, which had originally caused their race to be known by this name, down to a time when their continuance of that custom distinguished them from other tribes of Celtic race. Besides the Leix heptarchy, there were, among the Cruithnian caste, "the seven Soghans," a tribe inhabiting part of Meath and Connaught; the Dalraidhe, or aborigines of Ulster (of whom, in later ages, the clan Mægennis was chief); the Conailli, and numerous other clans in the five provinces. The last-mentioned tribe was, like this under view, sprung from the hero of romance, Conall Cearnach. In order to conceal the Pictish extraction of these clans, an unworthy device was resorted to by Gaelic genealogists, who were ignorant that the words Pictish and British are synonymous, and fancied that some disgrace attached to the British origin. They therefore invented a certain "Loinceadha," whom they feigned to have been daughter of a Caledonian Pict, and to have been espoused by several patriarchs; from which circumstance, said these perverters of history, her offspring are called Cruithnians.

The first mention in the "Four Masters," of this country, is in 860, when Ceinneedich, son of Gaithin, Lord of Leix, is said to have demolished Longfort Rothlaibh, now Dunrally, in the townland of Courtwood, parish of Lea, on the boundary between Leix and

¹ Irish version of Nennius, p. 265.

² Nennius, p. lxxiii.

Clann-Maelughra. This chieftain was afterwards slain by his own people. In 1026, "Aimergin, son of Cinaeth, son of Ceinnedich, son of Mordha, *à quo* O'Mordha, or O'More," was slain. If we may judge, as in the instance of the O'Conors, of O Faly, by the *ghairm-sluagh*, (i. e. call to the tribe), or slogan, the O'More's war cry, viz. *Conlan-aboo*, points to a patriarch of the name of Conlan. No such name appears in the "Annals of the Four Masters:" So that the origin of this clan's slogan is still to seek.

At the epoch of the English invasion, "O'Morthe, li sire de Leys," as he is called in the Norman poem describing the conquest, appears to have been loyal to his *sire*, or senior, Dermot Mac Murrough, against whom, on the contrary, "Mac Donchad, seigneur de Osserie," and "Mac Kelan, rei de Offelan," were rebels. The King of Ossory, indeed, was a prime enemy to the King of Leinster, and, having engaged some of the new warriors, invaded Leix, where his ravages were only arrested by the submission of O'More; who, however, presently applied to Dermot for protection, on which this king marched thither with his new allies, chased the "traitor" lord of Ossory away, and then, by way of precaution, took hostages of the "sire de Leys." Notwithstanding the apparent fidelity of O'More, his territory was conferred by Strongbow upon his comrade in arms, Geoffrey de Constantine, to whom, according to the poem, Kelberi and Rathei Marthi were granted. By the first local denomination we understand Kilbery on the fac simile, and by the second, the rath of "O'Morthe," as that chieftain is called in the poem. This grant is read, in Harris's "Hibernica," as of "Kilbixie and Rathmarthie;" and a charter from Walter de Lacy to Geoffrey de Constantine is referred to, to prove that these lands were in Meath. But this is erroneous, for "Leix, the land of Geoffrey de Costentin,"¹ was assigned by Henry II. to pay feudal suit and service at Wexford, as part of the lordship of Leinster.² It would seem that the grantee's descendants soon lost possession of this territory. King John, in the ninth year of his reign, granted the entire province of Leinster to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, each of whose five coheirresses inherited the lordship of a county as her dowry, excepting Eva, the youngest, who was only entitled to the manor of Dunamase in Leix, with certain other lands in the county of Kildare. She married De Braos, whose heiress married Lord Mortimer.

The first entry in the "Annals of the Four Masters" as to the O'Mores, subsequent to the invasion, is anno 1196, and mentions

¹ "The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society," vol. i. 28, quoting Hoveden.

² He was one of the magnates of Ireland, 5 Hen. III.—(Lynch's "Feudal Dignities," pp. 297 and 289).

the loyalty of Donnell, then seigneur of the tribe, who is declared to have resisted and killed a brother chief, who was bearing off spoils taken from English people. There is abundant evidence that, for a hundred years or so after the invasion, the colonists, who came in great force, overpowered the natives of Leinster and Munster, took possession of the fertile plains, and drove the aborigines into waste places. During that space of time, the clan in question seems to have been confined to the woods,¹ the skirts of Sliabh bloom,² and to Slievemargy, from whence, when their numbers increased, while the strength of the colonists waned, they emerged, and gradually reassumed large portions of their ancient territories. In 1308, the coroner of the county of Kildare, being aged, was superseded, as unable to execute his office because of Irish enemies in Leys. This is stated in the printed Patent Rolls. Our next citation from these archives is confirmatory of our conjecture that the chiefs of the O'Mores were, primarily, obedient to the crown, and the record in point is singular testimony of confidence in Gaelic lords. Edward the Second, by patent dated 1310, committed to Leyssagh Omorthe the custody of lands which belonged to Patrick de Rochfort, at Kildebrenyn, in Leys. The only other entry these rolls contain, as to lands in this region held by colonists, is of John Wolf, acknowledging that he has no right in lands or lordships in Ballym^cgyllewan and Loghdyok. This was in 1377; and, as the latter place was, doubtless, the Loughy, *luchtighe*, or mensal land of O'More, the acknowledgment may have been made to pacify this then rampant chief. There are scarcely any notices in native annals of the clan in point until the middle of the fourteenth century, so we turn to the chronicle compiled by Clyn, a friar who lived in Kilkenny until that period, to whom the chieftains in question of his time may have been personally known, and who has recorded some characteristic particulars regarding them. Prior to citing these passages, it should be observed that the Scottish invasion, in 1315-18, by the Bruces, had the effect of weakening the power of the Strongbonian settlement to such an extent, that it became easy to the Leinster chiefs to throw off the yoke, and take rank as independent kings. During that invasion, James, Earl of Ormond, received a gratuity for opposing the Omorthes, Onolans, Obrynes, and M'Murghs, who had risen in arms.

We read in Clyn's Chronicle:—

“1335. Die Jovis in crastino Invencionis Sancte Crucis, occiditur dominus Remundus le Ercedekne, cum duobus filiis suis Patricio et Silvestro, dominus Willelmus le Ercedekne, et de illo cognomine xi. per

¹ For “the people of the Yellow Wood,” see page 355.

² Called “the Clandibuoy.” See page 349.

Leyath O'Morthe, filios et familiam suam, in parlamento apud Clar-Goly."

This slaughter of two distinguished Kilkenny knights and their kinsmen, at a parley, created a mortal feud, thus noticed in the chronicle :—

"1336. Item in estate illa fuit guerra inter dominum Fulconem de la Frene, tenentem et fiventem partem Anglicorum Ossorie, et Leysaght O'Morthe; que ortum habuit ex morte domini Remundi Lercedekne et suorum; nam idem O'Morthe omnes Hibernicos communiter totius Mononie et Lagenie, suasionibus, promissionibus et muneribus alexit ad guerram; solum autem Scanlan McGilpatrick et Herry O'Regan partem tenebant Anglicorum et pacis."

This civil war seems to have been the occasion when this brave and bold chieftain, Lysagh O'More, emancipated himself. It is said¹ that he was retained by the absentee, Mortimer, Earl of March, and heir of Eva de Braos, in the lordship of Dunamase, to be his captain of war in Leix, against the Irish on the borders, and that, betraying his trust, he destroyed Dunamase, the principal house of Lord Mortimer, and recovered the country. This event is referred to the beginning of the reign of Edward II.; but we should read Edward III., since it is noticed² by Clyn in the following succinct account :—

"1342. Parum ante Natale Domini obiit Leysart O'Morthe, a proprio servo in ebrietate occisus, vir potens, dives et locuples, et in gente sua honoratus. Hic fere omnes Anglicos de terris suis et hereditate violenter ejecit, nam uno sero, viii. castra Anglicorum combussit, et castrum nobile de Dunmaske domini Rogeri de Mortuo Mari destruxit, et dominium sibi patrie usurpavit; de servo dominus, de subjecto princeps effectus."

The chronicler is quite to be credited in this account. No notice of these events is recorded by "the Four Masters," who were not fully informed of historical passages relating to Leinster. Further, the chronicler mentions the progress of the resurgent clans of this district in recovering their former patrimonies :—

"1346. In ebdomada post Dominicam in Albis, castra de Ley, Kilmehide, et Ballyethan, capiuntur et franguntur per O'Morthe, O'Conkur, et O'Dymiscy."

These attempts to annihilate the feudal fortresses which com-

¹ By Chief Baron Finglas, in his Breviat, written in the year 1529.

² In November 1336, O'Dymsey had an order for £10 for his expenses in

going with John Darcy, justiciary against Lessagh O'Moyche, and the other Irish who had made insurrection. —(Rymer, ii. 951).

manded the country were avenged by the Anglo-Irish governor and the principal nobleman, as the chronicler records :—

“ 1346. Capitur Rury filius O'Morthe. Item, in hyeme illa fuit guerra inter Anglicos, videlicet, W. Bermegham, comitem Kildarie, et O'Morthe et O'Dymiscy, et terras eorum invaserunt et combusserunt, paucos tamen homines occiderunt.”

The annalist, Grace, writes that the Justiciary (W. Bermingham), and the Earl of Kildare, “invade O'More, who had burnt the castles of Ley and Kilmehede, and compelled him to submit, although he resisted obstinately.” Yet it was the fate of this family to find their worst foes in their own household. Friar Clynn writes :—

“ 1348. Die Martis in crastino Purificationis, Connili O'Morthe, patrie sue princeps et dominus, per germanos ejus in quibus confidebat, cum quibus ipso die simul epulabatur confidenter, quorum filios pro fidelitate et subjeccione sibi servanda tunc habebat obsides, natorum suorum necem non formidantes, et in perjurii crimen incidere non verentes, ambicio dominandi fraternum fedus disjunctum et seperavit; et rupto vinculo fraternitatis, spreto amore et federe sanguinis, eum prodiciose occiderunt, et quos venter et uterus unius mulieris suscepit, tota illa terra et patria recipere non valebat; nec aufertur nec etiam differtur inde vindicta, nam octavo die Anglici de Ossoria, qui partem ipsius Conyl fovebant, patriam intrantes, communi consensu populi filius ejus primogenitus Rury in principem est electus et acceptus, et Anglicis Ossorie ad sua ut volebant revertentibus, David O'Morthe, occisi germanus, eis obstitit cum quibusdam Anglicis comitatus Kildarie et Cathirlaht, in quodam passu arto aliquos equos, qui sarcina et arma Ossoriensium portabant, abstulerunt, et ibi occisus ipse David, vir potens, dives et discretus post Conyl de sanguine parem non habens, et sic vitam perdidit, regnum et germanum; alii vero fratres omnes consentientes exulati patriam dimittere coguntur.”

This domestic tragedy, one of a thousand cases in which tanistry, or election, as opposed to inheritance, rendered, as Shakespeare says, “the nearest in blood, the nearest bloody,” was neither the first of its kind in this family, nor the last; for the “Four Masters” record that, in 1354, Rory O'More, Lord of Leix, was slain by his own kinsmen and household. The “Annals of Conmacnois” have this entry, in translation, anno. 1358 :—“O'More, of the country of Lease, gave a great discomfiture to the English of Dublin; there were killed of them 240 persons.” From entries in the Patent Rolls, it seems that Slemargy was the resort of the most turbulent of the O'Mores, who were in great force, 32nd and 46th Edward III. Referring again to the native chronicle so often quoted, we read that, in 1404, Gillapatrick, King of Leix, lost his wife, but found consolation in defeating the Sassenachs signally, in a battle in which he took much of their horses, arms, and armour. In 1415, Lord

Furnival, afterwards the famous Earl of Shrewsbury, devastated the land of Leix. Having now perused the short and simple annals of this region, we take a glance at its interior condition by the following extract from a translation of a native chorographic poem,¹ dated about 1420:—

“ After Ui-Failghe of the ancient lands,
 Let us approach Laoighis² of Leinster,
 Brown-haired heroes for whom showers fall;
 We shall devote some time to their history.
 The great territory of Laoighis of slender swords,
 Laoighis Reata,³ of it I speak,
 Belongs to O’Mordha⁴ with bulwark of battle
 Of the golden shield of one colour.
 Under Dun Masc⁵ of smooth land,
 O’Duibh⁶ is over Cinel-Criomthainn,
 Lord of the territory which is under fruit,
 Land of smoothest mast-fruit.
 The old Tuath-Fiodhbhuidhe of fair land
 Is a good lordship for a chief;
 The Muintir Fiodhbhuidhe⁷ are its inheritors,
 The yellow-haired host of hospitality.
 Over Magh-Druchtain⁸ of the fair fortress
 Is O’Ceallagh⁹ of the salmon-full river;

¹ “Irish Topographic Poems,” just published by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society.

² Usually Anglicised Leix, pronounced Leese. This territory comprised the eastern and southern baronies of the present Queen’s County, exclusive of Upper Ossory, Portnahinch, and Tinna-hinch.

³ One of the seven, or sept-partite divisions of the territory, containing the fort of Rath-Bacain and the rock of Lec-Reda. See “Annals of Four Masters,” A. M. 3529, and A. D. 958, note *a*. Query the “Rathe-Marthi,” granted to De Constantine?

⁴ This name is Anglicised O’More, and sometimes Moore.

⁵ Now Dunamase, in the barony of East Maryborough, Queen’s County. It is said to have derived this name from Masc, son of Augen Urgnuidh, the fourth son of Sedna Siobhbaic, ancestor of the people of Leinster. See “Four Masters,” A. D. 843, note *a*. It is a lofty isolated rock, on which formerly was an earthen fort or stone cathair, but which the English crowned with a strong castle, now in ruins.

⁶ Now Deevy and Devoy. Their ter-

ritory, extending round the fortress of Dun-Masc, is comprised in the barony of East Maryborough.

⁷ The late learned editor of the “Topographic Poems,” from whose notes these annotations are mostly taken, says that the situation of this sept has not yet been determined. Their name means “The People of the Yellow Wood,” and is one of many instances in which clans had other than patronymic denominations, such as “The Old Evil Children of the Wood,” near the city of Limerick; and the Clan-Ceitherne, or Children of the Kerne or Caterans, in Ulster.

⁸ The above-quoted editor states that this territory is still locally known, and is considered the best district in the whole Queen’s County, extending from the ford of Ath-baiteoige to the ford of Ath-fuiseoige, near Luggacurran. He also identifies it with the district, on the map, now published, called FERANOKELLE, as extending from Ballymad-dock southwards to the hills of Slew-margie, and as comprising the park near Stradbally, the churches of Grange and Oghteoge, and Coragh Castle.

⁹ O’Kelly, whence *Feranokelle*, the land, or correctly, the men of O’Kelly,

Similar is the smooth surface of the plain
 To the fruitful land of promise.¹
 Gailine² of the pleasant streams,
 To O'Ceallaigh is not unhereditary,
 Mighty is the tribe at hunting
 On the sunny land of Gailine.
 Crioch Ombuidhe³ of the fair sod,
 Along the Bearbha⁴ of the bright pools,
 To O'Caollaidhe⁵ the territory is fair,
 A shepherd prepared to encounter enemies.
 The territory of the Ui-Barrtha⁶ of the fine glebe
 Of the race of the melodious Daire Barrach ;
 O'Gormain⁷ received the lands,
 Rapid was he in the battle meeting.
 Pass across the Bearbha of the cattle borders,
 From the land of corn and rich honey,
 From Dinnrigh⁸ to Maistin⁹ the strong,
 My journey is paid for by their nobility."

Here, then, we take leave of the chorographic poet.

Such were the septs of this district in the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth, the "seven septs of Leix" were the "Moorees, Kellys, Lalors, Clain-Mellaghins, Clainbois, Dorains,¹⁰ and Dullings." See their petition, dated 1607, among the State Papers.

During all this time, while the O'Conors of Ofaly were despoiling

the present reputed head of whom is Mr. Denis Kelly, of Castletown-Orney.

¹ "These words," observes the above-quoted editor, Dr. O'Donovan, "clearly show that O'Heerin was well acquainted with the fertility and beauty of this territory."

² Now Gallen, or Dysart-Gallen, in the barony of Cullenagh, Queen's County. See "Four Masters," A, D., 1349, p. 733, note s.

³ A territory comprised in the present barony of Ballyadams, in the Queen's County.

⁴ The river Barrow, which flows between this territory and that of Ui-Muireadhaigh, which latter is called O'Murethi by Giraldus, and was the tribe-name of the O'Tuathails, or O'Tooles.

⁵ This name, observes the editor of the poem, is still common, but always incorrectly anglicised Kelly.

⁶ *Ui-Barrtha*, i. e., descendants of Daire Barrach, second son of Cathaoir, King of Leinster, and of all Ireland, in the second century. This sept was seated in the barony of Slewmary, in the south-east of the Queen's County.

See *Leabhar na g Ceart*, or "Book of Rights," p. 212, note m.

⁷ This family was driven from this territory after the English invasion, and the chief of them ultimately fixed his residence in the barony of Ibrickan, in Thomond.

⁸ That is, the Hill of the Kings. This was the most ancient palace of the Kings of Leinster. The remains are in the townland of Ballyknockan, on the west side of the River Barrow, about a quarter a mile to the south of Leighlin Bridge.

⁹ Now Mullaghmast, a remarkable fort on a hill of this name in the parish of Narraghmore, about five miles to the east of Athy, in the county of Kildare.

¹⁰ The O'Dorans, rightly *Ua Deorain*, were a family which supplied the chief brehons, or judges, of Leinster. They were seated at Chappell, in the barony of Bantry, Co. Wexford. One of them paid the Earl of Kildare a fee for protection while dwelling in Leys (Rental Book ; see p. 124). O'Feneyn (O'Fanin, or Fanning) seems, by the next entry in that book, to have been leech, or physician, to the clans of this country.

the Strongbonian colony on their eastern frontier, the O'Mores were no less predatory over their own borders. In 1448, says the chronicler, "O'Mordha his sons gave a defeat to the county of Kilkenny."¹ At this time the principle of primogenitural male succession was beginning to be adopted by this family, and, as one consequence, the Lord of Leix, firmly seated in his territory, and assuming the right of ownership of the soil of his clansmen's country, founded in 1447 an abbey at Leix, endowing it with an estate.² We continue to extract some passages respecting this family from "the Four Masters," though they are unusually meagre.

In 1489, Ross, the son of Owny, or Owen, O'More, was slain; and in 1493, Conell (son of David), the O'More, was killed at the castle of Baile-na-m-bachlach, i. e., the town of the shepherds (near the River Barrow, in the county Kildare), by a party of Lord Kildare's people; after which Niall, son of Donell, was inaugurated king.³

In 1520, Con (Conell?), son of Melaghlin O'More, slew one of the chiefs of the Geraldines (F. M.). Kedagh,⁴ son of Lisagh or Lewis, the O'More, died in 1523, and appears to have been succeeded by Connell, who the same year submitted, with the rest of the Gael of Leinster, to the Earl of Kildare. From this chieftain downwards, the pedigree of the leading men of the clan is tolerably clear, and, in elucidation, the following notes are now published:—

Connel was the O'More, or chief captain of Leix, from 1520 to 1537. See printed "State Papers" ii., 78, and iii., 88, where he is called Congallus; committed ravages in the county Kildare, and was invaded by the earl, 1523 (Cox); is mentioned in the printed inquisition of Elizabeth, as son of Melaghlin, and father of Rory; and by "the Four Masters," as Con, son of Melaghlin, in 1520; and as Connell in 1523. He had five sons, viz.:—

1. Leysaghe; see a notice of Lysaghe M'Conyll despoiling the citizens of Kilkenny on their way to fairs, before 1537, in our "Annuary," vol. i., p. 107; slain in a tanistic quarrel before 1538. (S. P., iii., 26). His son, Morris, became Lord of Slemargy, and was slain in the massacre of Mullaghmast, in 1577.

2. Kedagh Roo.

3. Piers.

4. Gillapatrick, or Patrick.

5. Rory Caech.

¹ Firbis. "Arch. Misc." i., 201.

² "Four Masters."

³ There is said to be, or to have been, a tomb of curious workmanship, still standing in Lord De Vesci's garden, at Abbeyleix, with this brief memorial expressed on it:—

"Malachias O'More, Lassie Princeps, requiescat in pace. Amen, mccccclxxxvi."

There is no mention of any such man in the "Annals of the Four Masters."

⁴ Lisagh and Wony (Oweny) his sons, are mentioned in the Kildare Rental Book see p. 123.

The third named, Piers, was the O'More in 1538; see his curious submission, S. P., iii., 88.

The second, Kedagh Roo, or the Red, is called "eldest and best son." (S. P., iii., 24). Was of Stradbally in 1538. (Calendar of S. P.) He wounded James, Lord Butler, in Silken Thomas's rebellion. (S. P. iii., 25 and 27). Received a state pardon, 33, Hen. VIII. (Printed Patents). In 1541, he was to have been summoned to parliament as a baron. (S. P. iii., 307.) Was slain in rebellion before 1540, by Donill M'Cahir (Calendar), leaving several sons, viz. :—

Lysagh, who seems to have been chieftain in 1561; see Calendar of State Papers. Caher, an outlaw. (Calendar.) These two sons of "Kedo O'Moore, once captain of Leix," were inveigled by Sir Henry Sydney to come in to him, and were then tried and executed. ("Ulster Journal of Archæology.")

Thomas and James. These two took the name of Meagh. The former was servant to Gerald, Earl of Kildare; has left his name inscribed on the walls of the state dungeon in the Tower, and was the first to broach the idea of transplanting the seven septs of Leix into Kerry (which was done in 1609), as appears by his "offer" in 1584, "to deliver the Pale from the annoyance of the Moores, to be performed by James Moore, their chief, and brother to the said Thomas Moore, or Myagh." He calls them "a heap of murdering theeves."

The fourth son of Connell, viz., Gilla-Patrick, or Patrick, is accused, in 1538, by Piers, Earl of Ormond, of having been one of the murderers of his son, Thomas Butler. (See S. P., vol. iii., page 25; vol. ii., part iii., page 162; and "Four Masters," anno 1532.) Was the O'More in 1546, when he rose in insurrection. (F. M.) Slew his brother Rory. (Printed Inquisitions, Com. Regine.) In a note in our "Annuary," vol. i., page 104, this event is referred to 1555, and is said to have led to the forfeiture of Leix; but the correct date seems to be 1545. In 1548, he died suddenly, in England. (F. M.) In the above note, he is said to have married a daughter of O'Conor Faly, and to have had a son (query, a grandson?) Callagh, or Charles, who was living at Naples in 1611. These particulars are mostly verified by Carew's pedigree of the latter house, setting forth that Patrick O'More married Elizabeth, daughter of Callogh O'Conor; and that she espoused, secondly, Brian, first Lord Upper-Ossory. In Lodge, vol. ii., 335, Elizabeth, third daughter of Bryan O'Conor, is said to have been the second wife of that nobleman, to have survived him, and to have had license, anno 1551, to go to England. There is much confusion about Gilla-Patrick's sons. The annalists mention that his son Conall *Buoy* was slain in 1579. This Christian name is assigned to a son of Lady Upper-Ossory, by her first marriage, in a state

paper letter from Thomas (Hussey of) Galtrim, to his father in Ireland, dated Naples, 1582, mentioning that "Mr. Conall O'Moore, son and heir to my Lord O'Moore, deceased, whose mother married oulde Lord Ossery," has a pension of twenty-eight crowns a month from King Philip of Spain.

The fifth-named son of Connell, namely, Rory *Caech*, i. e., the one-eyed, is so styled by "the Four Masters." By order of the Dublin Council, 34 Henry VIII., this chief was made captain of Leix, as next heir to his brother Kedagh. (Carew MS. 602.) Is described as of Stradbally, in a grant of English liberty, which he obtained for 20s., in 35 Henry VIII. (Printed Patents.) Seems to have been the King's O'More, or chieftain loyal to the crown, in opposition to the popular chief, in June, 1544, when, as "captain of Leix," he addressed to Henry VIII. a statement of the services of his ancestors and himself, and complained of ill usage by the Lord Deputy, who, to his extreme prejudice, behaved partially towards the rebel O'Connor. In the ensuing year, either he or the opposition chief entered into a secret combination with the Earls of Ormond and Desmond. Was slain by his brother Gillapattrick, in, as it seems, 1545; and appears to be "the O'More" who is written of by Walter Cowley, in 1546, as having been much devoted to the Earl of Ormond, and as lately dead. In 1565, the lord deputy was ordered to inform the home government as to the manner of his death, why his lands were annexed to the crown, and what was expedient to do for his son Kedagh. He married a daughter of Piers, Earl of Ormond, by whom he had (according to the Carew MS., 635, folio 110^a.) two sons, Callogh and Rory Oge. Sir Henry Sydney, in his autobiography, also mentions that this chief married a daughter of Ormond's. But, according to Lodge's Peerage-book, he married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Butler, third son of Earl Piers. His issue appear to have been Rory *Oge*, the notorious rebel leader, killed in 1578; and two other sons, namely:—

Keadagh. For his suit, see Calendar of S. P., page 280, anno 1565; died about 1569.

Calvagh, or the Callogh. Born after his father's death. The Council book, which begins in 1559, contains a notice of "an act to give Kedagh and Calluagh, the sonnes of Rory O'More, in respect of their father's fidelitie, £20 yearlie apeece, to maintain them at Oxford for three years." In 1569, Thomas, Earl of Ormond, writes of him as his cousin; and he, styling himself of Gray's Inn, asks for continuance of the pension allowed to him and his deceased brother, Keadagh. In 1571, this "Callogh" writes to the government, stating that his father was murdered for serving his sovereign, he himself being yet unborn; and he demands recompence for his inheritance, which, he says, he might claim by law, were it not for

the act of parliament which gave Leix to the Queen. The next year, Ormond states that the father of his kinsman, the Calloghe, had a patent from the crown for his lands, and was slain in service. On the 22 April, 1574, he had a grant of lands to the value of £30 yearly. See page 104 of our "Annuary," wherein he is said to have obtained a grant of Ballina, to be identical with Charles O'Moore, the antiquary, and to have been father to the celebrated Colonel Roger,¹ or Rory, O'More. (See also Morrin's Calendar, i., pp. 32, 638).

Who it was that was chieftain of Leix after the death, in 1548, of Gillapattrick, does not clearly appear. The calendarer of the State Papers, considering Rory *Caech* to have lived longer than he seems to have done, indexes him as chieftain up till 1551; but the calendarer fails to notice Gillapattrick; and his references to Rory *Caech*, as the O'More whom, in 1549, the viceroy was desired to displace, and in 1550, as the chieftain then subdued, must be assigned to some successor to Gillapattrick.

Connell *Oge* is the next leader mentioned in the State Papers, and by the annalists. In 1556, as Connell *Oge* O'Moore, he obtained promise of a patent for lands in Leix. "The Four Masters" record, anno 1557, the killing of O'Connor's hostages, and that "O'More (Connell) was taken by the English, and put to death by them at Leighlin. It was grievous to the Irish that their free-born noble chieftains should be overtaken by such an evil destiny; but they could not afford them any assistance." Ware states that Connall was, in 1557, sentenced to death as a stubborn rebel, and executed at Leighlin Bridge. In 1561, Shane O'Neill complained that Viscount Mountgarrett, father-in-law to this man, who was "chief of his name," invited him to his house, and then sent him to Captain Heron (governor of Carlow), who, without trial, executed him.

Rory *Oge*, son of Rory *Caech*, is the fierce chieftain rebel whose six years' career is chronicled in native and colonist annals, and concerning whom there is frequent mention in the state papers, until he was slain, 30th June, 1578. He left issue, Owen, and a daughter,

Doryne, married to James, second son of Sir Edward Butler; secondly, to Captain Tyrrell. (S. P., 1601, pedigrees of competitors for the earldom of Ormond.)

Owen, son of Rory *Oge*. The interesting correspondence respecting the taking captive of the 10th Earl of Ormond, by this chieftain, has recently been published by this Society.

We continue our extracts from manuscript and printed sources, elucidatory of the history of this clan, down to the date of the map.

The independence of the Kings of Leix, as these potentates are

¹ Callough O'Moore, of Kilmainham Wood, county of Meath, died in 1618, leaving his brother, Roger, his heir, aged 26 (Printed Inquisitions).

styled by Firbis, at the early part of the sixteenth century, is visible in every record of the time. In 1534, O'More agreed to "suffer Woodstock and Athy to be repaired; and O'Connor at the same time put in pledges to re-edify Kisshavanna¹ and other piles which he had prostrated." (Calendar S. P.) It appears that the chiefs of both these lines took the precaution to range themselves, respectively, under the banners of the two great lords of the Pale, namely, the Earls of Ormond and Kildare. The date at which they first entered into this proviso for better security is uncertain; but it is clear that the O'Mores were allied, by marriage and policy, to the first-mentioned noble house, and the O'Conors, by similar ties, to the last-mentioned. Neither of these chiefs, or kings, however, relinquished their clan customs for the feudal system, but continued opposed to the crown of England's laws and power. Evidences of this position are abundant. We cull a few from the mass, in illustration, and particularly, the characteristic "articles" alleged by O'More in 1538, the which, having already been printed, we give as a note.² In fact, the political relations of the kings of the regions depicted on this map, growing naturally out of their social condi-

¹ *Coissh-a-bhanna*, the passage of the water—Casheboyne.

² "Certayne articclis, alledgide for the parttee of O'More, concernynge how greuously my Lorde Deputie entretythe hym, and agayne the late O Morres sones, (S. P. vol. iii., 26).

"Furste, the said O More, being, accordinge to the aunciente custome of that contree, by right lyne successore to the last O More, withoute contradiction, did come to the Erle of Ormonde, and desiride him to be meane to my Lorde Deputie to be his good lord in the denominacion of hym to the name of O More, and by the advys of the said Erle condissendide to give a certayne some for the good will of my said Lorde Deputie, and further grauntyde to bere to the Kinges Deputie perpetually, at certayne seasonys, a nombre of galloglassys; and at suche season as the said galloglassys came to levie their dutie, the sayde late O'Morre's sonnes resistide the same, and violently woulde have expulside them, where Leysaghe, theldist of the said late O'Morre's sonnes was slayne, of whiche procedid greate mortalite between them.

"Item, the said late O Morres sones comyttide the sondry enormiteis dayly to the said O More and his tenauntes, so that, for reformation to be hade therupon, it was appointide that O More

sholde come in at Athy to Stephen Apparry and others; where he came, and then, and there, in presens of Stephen Appare and the others, Rowry, oon of the late O Morres sones, cruelly assaltide the said O More, and hade nerehand slayne hym. And finally Stephen Apparry toke hym as prisoner, and conveide hym prevely to Rahangan, and from thens to Dublin, and kepe hym there secretly 2 dayes; where my Lord Deputie examynede hym prively, with certayne others, whether the said Erle procuride him to bynde in amite, and to take parthe with O Conor, whiche matter, being so untruly framyde, the said O More denied: wheruppon my Lorde Deputie, in a greate fume, both with words and contenance moche manas-side the saide O More to confesse suche mater, whiche he woulde not; and then the Kinges Highnes Comissioners, herynge of the said O More's entretinge sent for him, and examinede the mater, and fynally dismiside O More, and awardide restytuytion to hym of suche goodes, as was then takyne from hym at his takynge.

"Then the said O More bonde him further, takynge his dominion of the Kinge Highnes and his successoris, paynge annuallly certain rente; and therupon my Lorde Deputie, the Kinges Highnes said Comissioners, the Erle of

tion, were so primitively independent of extraneous authority, as resemble the state of the present King of New Zealand.

By referring to the "Annuary" published by our Society, vol. i., p. 104, the reader will see that when, about the year 1537, a writ of *subpœna* was served upon Rory O'More (who afterwards became loyal, and was appointed, by government, chieftain of Leix), he took the document irreverently, and threw it in the mire. This contumacious act was significant of the liberty which Irish chiefs enjoyed in relation to English law, and it was on this immunity that their political freedom rested, since, had they acknowledged the majesty of that law, and succumbed to its power, their whole social fabric would have fallen. To attend a crown court, and obey its decrees, was the touchstone of Irish subjection; and instances of such conformity were rare until the seventeenth century. In the previous age, the Gaelic kings resisted every approach of extrinsic authority with as much obstinacy as the King of New Zealand opposed last year, by manifesto, the encroachments of Queen Victoria and her subjects on his dynastic government. By this modern document, the laws of New Zealand are upheld, as to be obeyed by the Maoris; who are to observe the laws of their King, and not those of the said Queen. The code it promulgates is as thoroughly adapted to keep the Maori country for the Maoris, as any one which an O'More could have devised to keep Leix for the O'Mores. Thus:—"If a man sells a piece of land, by the law of the King he shall verily be scourged." "Leases are not good." "Should sheep come, they shall be killed without inquiry." "If a king's subject should steal any goods belonging to a white, it shall be for the king to judge him." "If a man steals, by the law of the king he shall be scourged." "The judgment of the Queen (Victoria) shall not fall upon the men of the king." "If a queen's summons should be received by a king's subject, it shall be destroyed with fire." "The king's subject shall not obey, or go at, the summons of the queen." "Debts due to whites should be properly paid." Here, then, is a code which leaves legal

Ormond, the Lorde Thesaurer, and the Kinges Consaile, orderide the lordshipe of O More to be peasseable renderide to the said O More, with restitution of certayne castelles, and sent to the last O Morres sonnes to conforme them to that, which, by prive comforthe of my Lorde Deputie, as apperithe sethens, they woulde nothing accomplish. Then the said late O Morres sonnes dud not oonly repougn again that order, but also cruelly mnrdride the said O More is messenger, his serjaunte, and his capitaine of his kerne, in the church, moste shamfully, and upon no maner of com-

playnte; ne redres folouide, so as no peaxe was performide by the said late O Morres sonnes; and whate so ever O More dud for the same, was after many by the said late O Morres sonnes.

"O More wonderithe, that my Lorde Deputie woulde have mor respecte to a little rewarde or profithe by O Mores sonnes givin to hym, who kepithe a hundirthe plowe land of the Kinges that the Erle of Kildare peasseably hade, then to the annuall rente, and other profithe, is grauntide newly to the Kinges Highnes by O More, that non of his auncesters never condissendide to yeve."

questions between white and brown men as it found them; no mixed court of commission, to try causes, is established; and the decree closes with a mere moral admonition on the matter of debt between the two races of men—although the difficulty involved in it formed, with cases of murder, theft, and disputed title to land, the common *casus belli* between New Zealander and Old England, as also, in the 16th century, between the Irish of Leix and the English of the Pale.

The stubborn, haughty independence, and bitter enmity of the Irish kings, as regarded the crown of England, were never stronger than at the epoch of the introduction of the Reformation into this country; it was therefore natural that the chieftains of Leix and Ofaly, whose forefathers had succeeded, some two centuries previously, in recovering the ancient territories of their clans, should keep and heighten the courage that had won these lands back, even to the dangerous degree of opposing Henry the Eighth in the field. No sooner did Lord Ofaly, the rash son of Viceroy Kildare, throw off his allegiance, and take arms in revolt, than O'More and O'Conor became his active abettors. But the Geraldines were quickly put down, their leaders were executed, and their lands confiscated. Their allies, however, the denizens of the wilds of Leix and woods of Ofaly, would not allow the new lessees and farmers of the Geraldine estate to till, sow, and reap in peace. So, then, the sword of state was drawn against themselves. The struggle, whether their lands should be for the Irish or the English, was a protracted one, lasting sixty years. Our native annals, with other records and histories of the period, may be referred to by the inquiring reader, to whom we propose to do no more than offer a few original and curious archæologic notes. For example, the following condition, evincing that our round towers were then considered ecclesiastical buildings, was insisted on by the English government in reference to the tower at Stradbally, and was inserted in a treaty with the O'Mores, dated 1538 (Printed S. P., Part III., vol. ii., 541):—"Item, concordatum et assensum est per partes predictas, quod campanile, alias dictum clogas, de Shraidbaily, in Lexia, semper erit in custodia et possessione gubernatoris seu curati ecclesie ibidem; et quod neuter partium predictarum ullum jus aut titulum eidem vendicabunt." (See also S. P., vol. iii., 88.)

Our next piece of intelligence is an intimate account of the status of a chieftain of Leix, derived from a printed inquisition.¹ It is set down in this record that:—

"Rorye O'More was appoynted capten of Leyse,² and, upon certaine

¹ Inquis. Com. Regine, 9th Elizabeth; and Morrin's Calendar of Patent Rolls, vol. i., page 505.

² He was so appointed in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. See page 359, *supra*.

controversie depending betwixt hym and his brother Patricke [Gilla-Patrick] O'More, the said Patrick, for his maintenance, did procure a great nombre of the Conors to come to the countereye of Leyse aforesaid, and was spoylinge of the same; and the said Rorye, resisting them in the defence of the country, was slayne by his said brother and the Conors, in a place within the said countrye called Killnesperokye.—Said Rory was capten of Leyse at the tyme of his death, and he had no more lands in possession, in right of his captenship as O'More, but only the towne of Stradbally, with the appurtenances, being unto him yearly worth £10. The customes, duties, perquisites, and profits that the said Rory had in right and belonging to his captenship of Leise, was to him worth every year £100."

He had, of inheritance, and not as captain, Dyrrbroke, and the Great Wood, with the appurtenances; Dyrryloghcomer, both the Collenaghs, Dysarteney, Carrickneparky, Ballyknockane, Graignehoyne, and the whole parish of Tulloryne, which land was worth yearly to him three score and ten marks. Also, he was possessed "of all the lands in Swyng" (?) that is to say, the temporalities of Tymokoe, *alias* Farrenepriorie, &c.; and he had the uses and profits of Stradbally monastery, and of Leix abbey, by sufferance from the crown. Of other property, he had much land by mortgage, having lent cows to various persons, to the number of 515 kine, receiving land in pledge.

In 1546, Gilla-Patrick, the O'More, and O'Conor-Faly, joined an insurrection raised by some of the Geraldines, who, in consequence of the attainder of the house of Kildare, had been expelled from their patrimonies. A full account of the expedition made into their countries by the Lord Justiciary, Sir Anthony St. Leger, is given by "the Four Masters." On this occasion, the English seized and garrisoned Ballyadams Castle, in Leix, and the Duin-gean, in Ofaly; and these two countries were formally seized to the use of the crown. In the same year, St. Leger adduces, as an instance in proof of the decadence of the Irish chiefs, the fact that, as he says, "Ould O'More would ride everie day in the weik with moo horssemen than all O'More's cuntrye is now hable to make."

The sufferance which left the native chiefs in possession of abbey land did not last long, if only for the reason that, while these rulers allowed the conventual clergy to remain in their ancient abodes, the warriors of the country, who were rebels to the Dublin government, either received or exacted sustenance from them.

The accession of Edward VI. reawakened the expectations of suitors for church lands in Ireland. The Protector, Somerset, the Dowager Countess of Ormond, and the young Baron of Upper-Ossory (the king's whipping-boy), were all solicitors, at one and the same time, for the rich abbey of Leix (State Papers). Quiet posses-

sion was, however, not to be had but by first using the sword. The Lord Deputy of the day, Sir Edward Bellingham, a hardy northern-English knight, a zealous champion of Reformation, whether religious, political, or civil, and of whom we are told that "he wore ever his harness (armour), and so did all those whom he liked"¹—this vigorous viceroy "opened," as the Archbishop of Cashel assured the Protector, "the very gate of the right reformation," asserted the strength of government, punished all malefactors, high as well as low, and began the conquest of Leix and Ofaly, by expelling the native horsemen and woodkerne, and settling English colonists in fertile parts. To his energy, the construction of "the Fort of Leix," first so called, then "the Governor," then "the Protector" (in honour of the Duke of Somerset), and lastly "Maryborough," with the mission of the Cosbys, Breretons, Manwarings, and other English settlers, and also the M'Donnells, into the land, are due. In 1550, Gerald Aylmer, Sir John Travers, and others, offer to inhabit and cultivate Leix, Irry, Slewmerge, and other possessions of the O'Mores, which, observe the applicants, are now wholly waste, and for which they offer to pay an annual rent of £600, and one nest of goshawks. (Printed Calendar of State Papers.) The year ensuing, Sir James Croft became Lord Deputy, and advanced the work of colonization.

On the accession of Queen Mary, in 1553, she ordered the garrisons in these two countries to be reduced to 500 men, and the lands to be granted in fee simple. Immediately, as it would seem, on the news of her having come to the throne, the Mores and Conors, who had cost her two predecessors £100,000, rose in insurrection. The Mores attacked the colonists planted by Bellingham and Croft, put man, woman, and child to the sword, razed the castles, and burned everything to the gates of Dublin. (Calendar, anno 1557.) About the year 1555, the fort in Leix was committed to the keeping of the Earl of Ormond, and that in Ofaly to the Earl of Kildare. In September, 1556, the Queen thanked the Lord Deputy (Sussex) for his conduct in obtaining the submission of the Mores, Conors, Tooles, and others. In this year there was a general consignment of lands in Leix to colonists, under the following regulations:—The country to be divided between the English and Irish, the latter to have the part beyond the bog. The chief of each sept to say how many men he will be answerable for, and they are to answer the laws of the realm. Freeholders are to cause their children to learn to speak English. They are to keep the fords open, destroy the fastness, or woods, and cut the passes. None shall marry or foster with any but of English blood, without license. The consignment to colonists contains the names of the Earl of Kildare, Captain

¹ Carew MS., 625, p. 120.

Portas, Harpoole, John Thomas, Eustace, brother to Viscount Balinglas, Connell Oge O'More, and the rest of the O'Mores, Murtough O'Dowlyn, Robert O'Fahy, Turlough M'Cabe, &c.; and it is stated that "there will be planted in sort above-written 160 men, English subjects, in that one country, besides the O'Mores."

The "Act for the disposition of Leix and Offalie" is dated 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary (1556). Chapter II. is an act entitling the King and Queen to Leix, Slewmerge, Irry, Glinmaliry, and Offaily, and for making them shire grounds. The fort in Leix is named Maryborough, and the one in Ofaly, Philipstown. In the third year of the reign of Elizabeth, returns were made to a commission for reducing and limiting the mears and bounds of the King's and Queen's Counties. These documents are in our metropolitan Rolls Office.¹

It is also worthy of remark that these counties, which were *terra incognita* to the mappist, John Goghe, in 1567, were the only ones surveyed in 1634.

After harvest, in 1557, the expelled natives of the confiscated countries overran them, and destroyed and burnt everything, excepting the two forts. In the year following, in the month of June, they came in greater force than ever, and attacked Fort Protector, but were repulsed by Radcliffe and Cosby.

The accession of Elizabeth temporarily alleviated the miserable condition of the natives, for this queen humanely ordered that the old denizens of these districts should have grants of part of them. "For that the Mores and Chonors wol not be quieted til they have a portion, let them so have, and be placed many together:"—thus is it ordered in a state paper, dated 1st April, 1559,² a document of, however, ominous date. The instructions to the Earl of Sussex,

¹ The following endorsement on an ancient map of Idrone, now preserved in the Rolls' House, London, shows of what clan territories the two new shires were made up:—

"The King's County consisteth of these countries following:

"Offaly, lately possessed by the O'Connors.

"Fercal, possessed the O'Meloyes.

"Moyntertagan, called the Foxes' cuntrie, and possessed by the Foxes.

"Delvin-Maccoghlan, possessed by the Maccoghlanes.

"And that parcel of Glnameliry, possessed by the O'Dempsis.

"The Queen's countie consisteth of these countries following:—

"Lex, Slemarg. As much of Glnmaliry as lieth on the south side of the Barro.

"Yregan, possessed by Odun, bordering upon the mountain called Slebleme."

It is generally supposed that the territory of Leix was formed into the Queen's County, and the territory of Offaly into the King's County; but this is erroneous, for the former district comprised no portion of the barony of Upper Ossory, nor of the baronies of Tinnahinch and Portnahinch, and scarcely any of the barony of Slievemargy; while also there is nearly as much of Offaly included in the Queen's County as there is in the King's; and, besides, the baronies of Garrycastle, Ballycowan, Fercal, Clonlish, and Ballybritt, in the latter county, were never included in the ancient Offaly.

² Lansdowne MS., 150, page 97; British Museum.

on his return as viceroy, dated 24th May, 1561, direct him to grant parts of the forfeited countries to the natives. In the same year, Ormond acknowledges a royal letter of thanks for his services against the outlaws of Leix. For many years, these outcasts continued in their almost hopeless state. In June, 1564, the Earl's brother, Sir Edmond Butler, of Cloghgreennan, writes that, having met with these outlaws, viz., Lisagh, Cahir, and their company, "at Clonyn, in Idogh, by Garrydenne," near where they had burnt a township, he sends up two heads of the leaders, whom he had killed, along with a dozen of their kerne.

1567, January 16.—The Queen assents to the Lord Deputy's request for making Maryborough and Philipstown market towns. Being constituted boroughs in 1569, they sent burgesses to the parliament of that year. Sir Edmond Butler, on breaking into revolt in this year, turned against some of the colonists in this district; for on the 1st July, Francis Cosbie writes from Stradbally to the Lord Deputy, to inform him that the insurgents last night burnt Stradbally, Ballyknockane, Ferny Priory,¹ and Loughteoge, and slew the ward of Ballyknockane.

11th March, 1573, Thomas Lambin, John Whitney, and John Barnys write, expressing their hope that order will be taken "for rooting out those wicked traitors, Rory Oge O'More and his adherents, who intend to overthrow the Queen's County next winter."

Here we may notice the nature of the conditions in the royal grants to colonists, since they are highly indicative of the then existing condition of the country.²

¹ Feranoprior on the map.

² The terms of the grants were nearly similar in each case, being such of those of Jenkin Hetherington, who settled at Ballirone, in Leix, where he obtained 484 acres, with the parsonage. For this estate he was bound to pay the crown £11 7s. 2d. yearly, and to maintain three horsemen of English blood, who should have good and sufficient horses and armour, and should, upon lawful warning, "give attendance, with most part of their household and family, in their defensible array, with three days' victuals, for the defence of the country" (Printed Inquisitions).

The following extract from a Letter Patent, to one of the Cosbys, shows that, while the early provisions for military service were dispensed with, several curious rules, intended to isolate the English, were still deemed prudent:—

Patent, *temp.* Jac. I., under the Com-

mission to take surrender of lands &c., and grant new titles, &c., to Richard Cosby, Esquire, son and heir of Alex^r. Cosby, Esq^r., defunct, and nephew and heir to Francis Cosby, Esq^r., defunct, granting him, Arnold Cosby, his son and heir, and their heirs and assigns, the site, &c., of the house of Friars at Stradbally, in the Queen's Co.; also the lands of Stradbally, Ballynowlan, Kelrowrie, Ballereder and Loughill, Parkeballecolman, Beallemadocke, Kilmarten, als Kilmarter le Grange, Garimadocke, Cloneboocke, als Glannevennocke, Bal-lineviccar and Kilmoho, Moyannagh, Carriell, Ranehine, Clonduffe, Noughvall, Ballaghmore, Shanmollen, and Bally M'Manus; also the Castle, town, and lands of Derribrocke, in the Queen's Co., and a water-mill in the town of Stradbally, except the lands in the said ville of Shanmollen lately granted to Edward Brereton, with all legal rights

On the 7th April, 1573, Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam writes to Lord Burghley, explaining his device for recovering the Queen's County from the O'Mores; he recommends that Rory Oge be banished; states that this rebel leader resorts mostly to his dwelling in Gallin, which is a waste district, being for twelve miles either mountain, wood, or bog, viz., Scaghafoure, Sleunecrie, the Wolf's mountain, Kildowney wood, and a long mountain called Sletemore. In this despatch, the viceroy enters at length into the best means of subduing the entire clan of the Moores. He, however, recom-

thereto belonging. The said Richard Cosby, his heirs, &c., to attend the Governor of Ireland, when warned, with the greater part of his domestics and tenants in defensive array, with provisions for three days for the defence of the said Queen's County and parts adjacent, and to answer to all warlike exercises, called "Hostings" according to the value of his lands. To maintain nine able horsemen of English name and nation, well horsed, and armed as well offensively as defensively, for the better inhabitation and defence of the aforesaid, paying therefor a small money rent annually in current money of Ireland, and the customary labour called "Plough day," for each acre arable, or such labour as the Constable of the Castle of Maryborough shall appoint, or 3s. in lieu thereof at the option of the said Richard Cosby. The chief Governor, or those appointed by him, to have power to cut timber for buildings, &c. And, moreover, that the said Richard Cosby and his heirs shall not use the law called "le Brehowne Lawe" in any cause *against any person subject to the laws of this kingdom*, and that his sons and able servants shall use in their lands and houses the English tongue, apparel, and equipments (*apparatus*) for the greater part. No person of Irish blood used to carry arms, and born without the said county, to be retained by him or his heirs, without license of the Constable of the Castle of Maryborough, and the greater part of the free tenants of the said county. The said Richard and his heirs not to pull up or prostrate any castle, bridge, paved causeway, or tougher, or plash, any passage (*vel succident*, Anglice "shall plashe" *aliquid passagium*) being in or upon the said lands, unless the said passage be adjacent to some Irish country (*aliquam Hi-*

bernicam patriam), neither he or his not to receive pay to attend and serve in war-like fashion, or to be the followers of any person whereby they might be compelled to aid him in any incursions or raids, in *aliquibus itineribus sive roadis*. And, besides, the king grants to Richard and his heirs, the lands, &c., of Moynerath, Cloneneynagh, als Clomenagh, Rosseshelton als Rossequillan, and Tromroe, with their appurtenances, on the same conditions as before recited. The patent also grants to Richard Cosby and his son and heir, Arnold Cosbie, the lands, &c., of Tymogho, als Farrenne priory, Ballyneclough, Ballentle, Rathnebaron, Garriglas, Gosse, Balliclare, als Ballifarra, Balliseare, als Ballineseare, and Owlortes, Esker, Clonekyny, and Eskerbegg, with their appurtenances, and the advowson of the Rectory and Vicarage of St. Mocho of Timoch, als Farrenne priory, in the diocese of Leighlin, with their appurtenances, on the same conditions. The said Richard and his heirs to have his principal mansion upon some part of the said lands, and live there for the greater part of each year; not to contract matrimony or gossipred (*compaternitatem*) with any Irish person residing outside of any county of this kingdom, and not answerable to its laws; not to permit the exactions called "Coyny and Liverie," to be taken on his lands by any strangers (*extraneas personas*); and the Letters Patent also direct that if any dowried or jointured female marry any Irishman, then her dowry to cease and determine. The patent then gives power to erect a manor of Stradbally, with its officers, courts, and rights; grants a free market at the town of Stradbally on Saturdays, and an annual fair at the same, on the vigil and feast of St. Peter the Apostle.

mends that Owen M'Hue,¹ a dutiful Irish subject, may inhabit Baliron and Galin.

A document, dated 1599, gives the following as "the names of the chiefe inhabiters in the Queen's County" (Carew MS. 635, f. 110) :—

"Cosbye, at Stradballye, Galene, Knt.²

Pigott, at the Disert.

Whitney, at the Shian.

Harpoole, at Colbannagher, Blackford, Knt.³

Erle of Kildare, at Murret, Tymoge.⁴

Colcloughe, at Ballinknockane.⁵

Brereton, at Loghtioge.

Barrington, at Coulinaghe.⁶

Hetherington, at Tully.⁷

Bowen, at Ballyadams.⁸

¹ Probably ancestor of the MacEvoys, for whom, see "Inquisitions Com. Regine, 6 Car. I.," and note to page 352.

² *supra*. The Mac Evoys may have been chiefs of the Clandeboy, or Children of Yellow Hugh O'More. Among the miscellaneous records preserved in the Rolls Office, Dublin, is a document setting forth "exceptions to the witness of Ony M'Hughe, on the part of Gerrod Fitz Philip Fitz Gerald, of Alone, gent." reign Eliz.; the witnesses are of Ballybrittas, and the record is a curious description of their character, manners, &c." (Reports of Record Com. vol. II., p. 518.) For "Owney M'Hu," or M'Hugh, was "captain of kerne in the service of the crown." There also was Hugh O'Dempsey, under Clanmalier.

³ No knight of this name is mentioned in the Cosby pedigree, in "Burke's Commoners." He probably was Richard, who, by inquisition, died in 1631.

⁴ The Harpooles, of Shrute, are famous in tradition, and, indeed, have been considered so in legend, by the reminiscences of them recorded by Sir Jonah Barrington. There is frequent mention of Robert Harpoll, sheriff and constable of Carlow, in the "State Papers," from 1556 to 1573. Sir George Carew gives the following pedigree :— "— Harpoole, of the Co. Kent, had issue Robert Harpoole, of Blackford, constable of Carlow, who married Grany, daughter of one of the clan Simons, a follower to the Kavanaghs of Odrone, and had issue, Robert, &c."

A document in the "State Papers," dated 1610, sets forth the misdemeanours

and treasons of Sir William Harpole, Knt., when constable of Carlow. Part of his misconduct was, that he promised to marry Owny O'More's sister, and kept Fiach O'Byrne's wife.

⁵ Gerald, Earl of Kildare, died seised of the manors of Tymock and Moyratie, and Leay, &c., in 1611. (Inquis.)

⁶ Piers Davells was of Ballyknockan in 1623. (Inquisitions.)

⁷ The Carew manuscript already quoted gives the following pedigree of this family :—

"— Barrington, of Essex, had a son, George B., a captain. This George, when the Moores were banished, had lands given him in Leax by the Erle of Sussex. He had issue :—

"John, a captain, married a dau. to Giles Ovington, and had issue — Barrington, who was slain in service by the O'Moores.

"Joseph, slain by the O'Mores.

"Robert, m. a dau. to one of the followers of the O'Mores; she m. secondly Thomas Lighe, who was slain in service in 1598, by the O'Mores."

The tragic end of so many of this family, by the clan they were supplanting, is remarkable.

By a volume of funeral entries, Harl. MS. 4820. p. 58, it appears that Alexander Barrington, Esq., of Timoge, married Jane, dau. of Edward Brereton, Esq., of Loghtioge, and died 15 Sept., 1635.

⁸ David Hetherington held Ballyrone, and died in 1622. (Inquis.)

⁹ Robert Bowen, of Ballyadams, held 902 acres; died in 1621. (Inquis.)

Hovenden, at Tankardston.
 Hugh boy M'Donnell, at Tennakillie.¹
 Terence O'Dempsie, at Ballibrittis.²
 Edmond M'Donnell, at Rathin.
 Loftus, at Tymochou."

These were the colonists who had to bear the brunt of the insurrection raised during Tyrone's rebellion, and bravely indeed did they endure and outlast the storm. Dymmok, in his "Treatice," dated 1599, published in the Tracts of the Irish Archæological Society, observes, that the Queen's County "was planted by the erle of Sussex with a mixt people of English and Irish." He adds, "the inhabitants have beene contynually molested with the first inhabitants, the O'Mores, that hath in manner wasted the whole cuntrye upon them, and at this daye are growne to stronge numbers and very dangerous."

A curious account of the taking of the Fort of Leix is given by Sir Francis Ruish, in a letter dated 7th January, 1599 (S. P.).

The memorable historic action, in 1599, when Owen O'More disputed the passage of the Earl of Essex and his army through a pass called Cashells, is described in a document printed in the second volume of tracts published by the Irish Archæological Society. The document is given without the name of the writer, who was Sir John Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, and whose account of the battle in question may be credited, as that of a veracious eyewitness. He describes the Earl as, after having victualled the fort of Maryborough, encamping the same evening "at the foote of a very highe hill called Croshy Duff"³—

"The general Ratehill⁴ of the province of Leinster, where the rebell Ony Mac Rory O'More shewed himself with 500 foote and about 40 horse, two myles from our camp. . . . The lord lieutenant having from the top of Croshi duff viewed the cuntry rownde about, and particolarly the way of that dayes march, led his army towards a passage called Cash-

¹ Hugh Mac Callogh M'Donnell, of Tenekille, died in 1619.

² Sir Terence O'Dempsey, first Viscount Clanmalier.

³ Croshy Duff is five miles from Maryborough. As to *O'Duibb*, see the topographical poem, cited *supra*.

⁴ This curious notice demands elucidation, which, we hope, may be supplied by some learned reader. It is observed, in a note to the Tracts, that "raths were used as places of meeting for legal and other purposes, from which circumstance they were called Motes and Laws." Certain citations are also advanced to prove this position. The term

above used, a *rate*-hill, may imply some relation between raths and rates, or taxes, ordered to be levied at meetings in these primitive ante-covert, or ante-court, places of parliament. Probably Croshy Duff was no more than the place of assembling for the clansmen of Leix. "Eriottes," or parliaments, held by Brehons on hills, are alluded to in the printed State Papers. The Latin word *iraghtus*, is often used in the printed Rolls (p. 68, &c.), to mean a sept, clan, or special followers. Perhaps, then, it is allowable to conjecture that "Ratehill" may mean the hill where the clans met.

ells,' halfe a myle from that night's quarter. The nature of the passage is such, through a thicke woode a myle long, leadeth a highe waye, in moste places ten going paces broade, which in the midst was traversed with a breach, and the woode plashed upon both sydes, from behinde which the rebell might with facility gaule our men in their passage."

Harrington proceeds to give details as to the engagement, which is also described in the "Annals of the Four Masters," and by O'Sullivan, whose account, however, is not to be relied upon, further than that, as he says, this well-contested road was, by reason of the quantity of helmet-feathers taken from the English cavalry by the Irish, called "*Bearnan na gehleti*, or *transitus plumarum*;" or, according to the historian Cox, "Barnaglitty, the Pass of Plumes."

In May, 1600, when Owny O'More was detaining the Lord General Ormond, the illustrious captive was kept in the woods of Leix, and removed from place to place every three hours, to prevent surprise.

Were our sympathy not sufficiently and justly evoked for the unhappy clanspeople of this district, who were doomed, in consequence of their faulty system of laws, to make way for feudal colonists, we could no longer withhold it after perusing the following paragraph in a letter from the viceroy, Lord Mountjoy, describing the peaceful and prosperous state of a fertile portion of their country, which had not suffered from the ravages and terrors of war. The viceroy writes, in a despatch dated in August, in Leix:—

"Our captains, and by their example (for it was otherwise painful), the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels' corn, to the value of £10,000 and upward; the only mean by which they were to live, and to keep their bonnaghts, or hired soldiers. It seemed incredible, that by so barbarous inhabitants, the ground should be so manured,² the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, the highways and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them. The reason was, that the Queen's forces, during these wars, never till then came among them."

On the 13th August, 1600, Owny O'More addressed an indignant and eloquent letter to Lord Ormond, protesting that he is outraged at the abominable new device of the Lord Deputy, to cut down the green corn wherever he goes—an execrable course, and bad ex-

¹ Cashell is mentioned in the Inquisitions, as near Kilhelan. A cash, *caish*, or *caiss*, is a pass through a wood, or bog. Colonel O'Neill, in his Journal, which is printed in "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," vol. ii., p. 500, speaks of making "cashes or tochers over bogs." In "Lewis's Topographical Dictionary,"

this famous battle is said to have taken place at Ballybrittas, a village in Lea parish; but this is impossible, from the after-course of Essex's march. The neighbourhood of Ballyroan seems a more likely locality.

² Hand-laboured.

ample to all the world. For himself, he declares that he has been taught bad lessons by the English before; and that, as they do not mean to give over schooling him in bad actions, which he protests he loathes, yet, having little to lose, if this be lost, he shall give over tillage, and take to living on the tilling of others, neither sparing friend nor foe. However, he hopes that such cruel dealings may be stopped, and requests the Earl to mediate for him, and obtain for him a government protection.¹

These disjointed extracts suffice to illustrate the history of Leix, from which we shall, at some future opportunity, turn to the stories of the other districts depicted in our map.

¹ Manuscript State Paper. It was an old custom, on both sides, to cut down the green corn. Civil wars always take the internecine form.